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ABSTRACT

The issue of censorship of conservative speakers at major universities by students on the political left is discussed. It is argued that many campus liberals are being duped by committed radicals into supporting radical causes, and that in many cases, campus liberals betray the tradition of intellectual tolerance. The following concerns are posed: whether teachers are instilling their students with a respect for free institutions; whether colleges permit all viewpoints to be voiced and protected; and whether student organizations selectively defend the free speech rights of those with whom they agree. Documented cases of efforts to silence speakers on campuses are described. The result has been a monopolizing of debate on the larger college campuses by proponents of the radical left. Three organizations that are active on campuses nationwide that reject the democratic ethic of freedom of speech are discussed: The International Committee Against Racism, the Spartacus Youth League, and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. It is suggested that there are college faculty and administrators who are sympathetic with the students. Adequate security and dealing firmly with protester leaders at campus speeches are recommended. The danger of succumbing to totalitarianism is noted. (SW)

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Appeasing the Censors

A Special Report on Campus Free Speech Abuses

by Les Csorba, III

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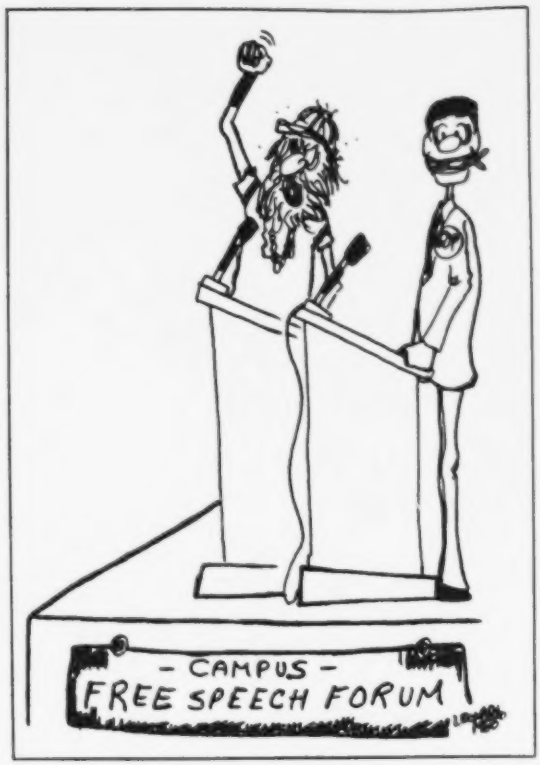

"Instead of promoting tolerance, freedom of inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge, campus radicals nowadays tend to see the university as a kind of fortress at war with society, an arsenal whose principal task is to raise 'revolutionary consciousness,' frustrate the government, discredit authority, and promote a radical transformation of society... (A) significant body of opinion on the campuses ... openly rejects the democratic ethic."[1]

—Secretary of Education William Bennett,
May 15, 1986, Washington, D.C.

"The shame for those of us who are active liberals is that we do not join in a chorus of condemnation of our colleagues when right-leaning speakers are kept off our campuses by threats or are silenced by disorder."[2]

—Wayne State University President
David Adamany, January 23, 1986.

Appeasing the Censors

Last fall, socialist philosopher Sidney Hook of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University said there is *no* freedom of speech on college campuses for anyone who expresses a point of view disapproved of by a militant minority, especially for speakers who defend American foreign policy.[3] Although Dr. Hook was primarily focusing on such institutions as the University of California, Berkeley, his assertion made in the 40th anniversary of *Commentary* magazine may exaggerate the case. Right-thinking speakers do in fact speak freely on many college campuses. The point should be made more precisely that there certainly is *no* freedom of speech on the larger campuses where radical groups are *active* in opposing American foreign policy around the world.

As one who has written extensively on this subject, in addition to offering formal recommendations to meet the problems of student disorder in testimony before the Scranton Commission on Campus Unrest in July of 1970, Dr. Hook's point is a serious one that ought to be addressed by top educators across the country.

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America's top educator, Education Secretary William J. Bennett, recently addressed this question, but in return, Mr. Bennett was heavily criticized by other leaders in the academy who tend to play down the problem of campus hooliganism, or ignore it entirely.

In his speech before the American Jewish Committee on May 15, 1986, in Washington D.C., entitled "In Defense of Our Common Culture," Secretary Bennett pointed out that "instead of promoting tolerance, freedom of inquiry and the acquisition of knowledge, campus radicals nowadays tend to see the university as a kind of fortress at war with society, an arsenal whose principal task is to raise 'revolutionary consciousness,' frustrate the government, discredit authority and promote a radical transformation of society." Secretary Bennett noted that in recent years a "significant body of opinion on the campuses... openly rejects the democratic ethic."[4]

Irving Kristol of New York University wrote in the *Wall Street Journal* on June 17: "When one dares to mention this fact (as Secretary Bennett has), it always provokes a storm of protest." And it did. Kristol notes that "a gaggle of liberal columnists, journalists, and editorialists ridiculed his (Bennett's) assertion...."[5] Others, most notably educators who are closer to the academic fortresses, are blind to this disturbing development and accused the Secretary of Education of "exaggerating." Dr. Ernst Benjamin, General Secretary of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), said that "radicalism has declined" on the college campuses and has been replaced by a more "conservative ethos."

And *New York Times'* education columnist Fred Hechinger wrote: "Today's protesters so far are not guilty of the 1960's radicals' often obscene and totalitarian assaults... If there has been some occasional heckling of speakers, why, in a democratic setting, where applause is permitted, should disapproval be outlawed? Only the silencing of speakers should be cause of alarm."[6]

Mr. Hechinger and Dr. Benjamin are apparently ignorant of the reality of academic intolerance—which includes not only the silencing of

lecturers, but, in some cases, physical abuse as well.

The Secretary of Education pointed to the two famous incidents back in 1983 when Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger were effectively prevented from expressing themselves freely on campuses. At the University of California, Berkeley, where Ambassador Kirkpatrick was invited to deliver a prestigious Jefferson Lecture, members of the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), a pro-Marxist campus organization, wore black and white death masks, and shrieked: "Genocide!" "Imperialism!" and "40,000 dead!" Ambassador Kirkpatrick was forced to leave when protesters began throwing eggs and other objects at her.[7] (Ambassador Kirkpatrick's talks have also been disrupted at the University of Washington, the University of Wisconsin, and other campuses.)

"There is—there always is—a minority of left-wing activists amongst the students. But they would not be nearly as influential as they are if they did not have such substantial faculty support, overt or tacit. And today they are very influential. They have, in effect, banished prominent conservative spokesmen from our major university campuses."

—Irving Kristol

When Secretary Weinberger was invited to give an address to his alma mater, Harvard University, members of the violent Spartacus Youth League, a Trotskyite organization, yelled and screamed, filled water balloons with red dye, and hurled them at the Secretary of Defense, hitting the stage and barely missing the target.[8]

These incidents are certainly not exceptions. Tolerance, in fact, is a one way street on many of

the campuses today where fat fees and courteous receptions are offered for leftist speakers such as Angela Davis, Bishop Desmond Tutu, cartoonist Garry Trudeau, members of the communist Sandinista government of Nicaragua and the communist-led African National Congress.

Irving Kristol writes in the *Wall Street Journal* that "there is—there always is—a minority of left-wing activists amongst the students. But they would not be nearly as influential as they are if they did not have such substantial faculty support, overt or tacit. And today they are very influential. They have, in effect, banished prominent conservative spokesmen from our major university campuses. They accomplish this in the simplest way: by disrupting the meetings where such spokesmen dare to appear."[9]

The key word in Prof. Kristol's statement here is "prominent," especially conservatives who have been influential in the formation of American foreign policy (e.g., Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, and former Secretary of State Alexander Haig), and prominent conservative spokesmen on controversial social issues such as homosexual critic Dr. Paul Cameron and pro-life activist Joseph Scheidler.

Prof. Kristol makes an even more compelling point: "These students are able to disrupt campus appearances by a Caspar Weinberger or a Henry Kissinger *because the faculty refuses to punish their behavior*" (emphasis mine). "As a result," Kristol adds, "prominent conservatives simply decline the occasional invitation that may reach their desks, preferring to avoid a probable humiliating experience."[10]

Why have we seen this recent rise of campus censorship from students on the left who, paradoxically, during the sixties allegedly championed the cause of tolerance as they held banners of free speech high in the air at Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, and other such institutions? David Horowitz, a former Marxist who edited *Ramparts* magazine, provides some insight into this question in a recent interview with the *California Review*.

Horowitz, who today repudiates his involvement in condemning America and supporting repressive communist liberation movements during the sixties and early seventies, says: "The history of the left shows that it is committed to dishonest politics." Horowitz says that "many of the organizers and hard core activists in these movements have a total—and ultimately totalitarian—agenda." He adds that the New Left "seeks out issues that will appeal to moderates and liberals, but its real strategic intent is to involve large numbers on a single issue and to push them towards a confrontation with the legal system."[11]

In other words, many campus liberals (some undoubtedly sincere) are being duped by the committed radicals into supporting radical causes within the context of a liberal agenda. In many cases campus liberals betray the tradition of intellectual tolerance necessary for the proper functioning of a university. Consequently, violent and illiberal tactics are utilized by many young idealists, who reject the democratic ethic while retaining the full support of the liberal community.

One of the top organizers of the anti-apartheid movement in the University of California system was recently convicted of issuing a bomb threat designed to disrupt a speech by UC President David Gardner. Student-activist Jim Burns revealed: "I have been involved in the anti-apartheid protests for the last two years, and out of frustration, due to lack of progress, I took part in this act."[12] Burns, a liberal student at UC Davis, initially denied making the threat, but later admitted to it after police obtained eyewitness reports and fingerprints from the phone Burns used to call in the threat. Burns, who was forced to relinquish his student council seat and who was put on two months' probation (escaping a one-year jail sentence), refused to name his accomplices "out of fear" for his life.

Burns and other anti-apartheid activists had discussed different methods of protest such as damaging the university president's car and/or kidnapping the president's daughter. Burns admitted that the possibility existed that some of

the more radical factions might have taken such actions, while others on the UC Davis campus said that such threats were actually issued.

Burns claims that the bomb threat is "a borderline violent act." He conceded: "I have long advocated non-violence... I'm sorry the anti-apartheid movement has come to this point."[13]

A year ago at the University of California, Davis, after Bishop Desmond Tutu spoke to some 12,000 students, it was suggested by this writer that the university invite Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, an apartheid critic who does not support divestment, to the Davis campus. Although the Zulu chief, who represents some 6 million South African blacks, was in the area at the time, such an

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invitation was not extended because, as one student government official put it, "there would surely be violence and disruptions."

Dr. Kristol believes that the intolerance of those leftist students, supported by an even more radical faculty, stems from the fact that "universities are living in a time warp, in a kind of self-imposed exile from American realities... As the American people (including most college students) have edged rightward," writes Kristol, "our universities as institutions have moved rapidly and massively to the left..." Prof. Kristol adds: "Never in American history have these universities so militantly divorced themselves from the sentiments and opinions of the overwhelming majority

of the people."[14]

The case can also be made that those students and faculty who call themselves liberals and participate in the uncivilized behavior noted by Prof. Kristol and Mr. Horowitz, have divorced themselves from the notion of true liberalism, which respects diversity and tolerates dissent.

A liberal education should offer a student a diversity of viewpoints and afford the student freedom to search for knowledge and truth without disruption.

One of the great thinkers of western civilization, poet John Milton, wrote in his work *Areopagitica*, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." Tom Paine, one of America's first radical philosophers, in his work, *The American Crisis IV*, wrote: "Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it."

Do students (and members of the general public who frequently visit the campuses during controversial speaking engagements) undergo the fatigue of supporting the rights of those with whom they disagree?

Are professors instilling their students with a respect for free institutions? Do these academic institutions permit all viewpoints on the political spectrum to be voiced and protected? Are some student organizations and student governments selective in defending the free speech rights of those with whom they agree, while denying and offending those whose opinions do not mirror their own?

Does liberalism, in its true classical definition, flourish on college campuses today? Or do universities consider that liberalism and academic freedom mean nothing more than license for some people and silence for the others?

Here are a few documented cases of efforts made to silence speakers on college campuses (some successful, others unsuccessful), excluding some of the cases mentioned earlier. They illustrate an ethos that could be described as the illiberalism of campus liberals.

• Duane T. Gish, a proponent of creationism, was shouted down by students and faculty members at Berkeley in April of 1982.[15]

• The late Representative Larry MacDonald of Georgia was prevented from making a presentation at American University in Washington D.C. in November of 1982. Congressman MacDonald pointed out, amidst the yelling in the room, that "this is an illustration of what would happen if this segment of the population took power."[16]

• Former Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver was prevented from giving a speech at Berkeley in May of 1982. In March, 1983, he was repeatedly disrupted at the University of Minnesota. At the University of Wisconsin, radicals heckled and screamed, drowning him out. Cleaver wrote on the blackboard behind him: "I regret that the totalitarians have deprived us of our constitutional rights to free assembly and free speech. Down with communism. Long live democracy!"[17]

"Does liberalism, in its true classical definition, flourish on college campuses today? Or do universities consider that liberalism and academic freedom mean nothing more than license for some people and silence for the others?"

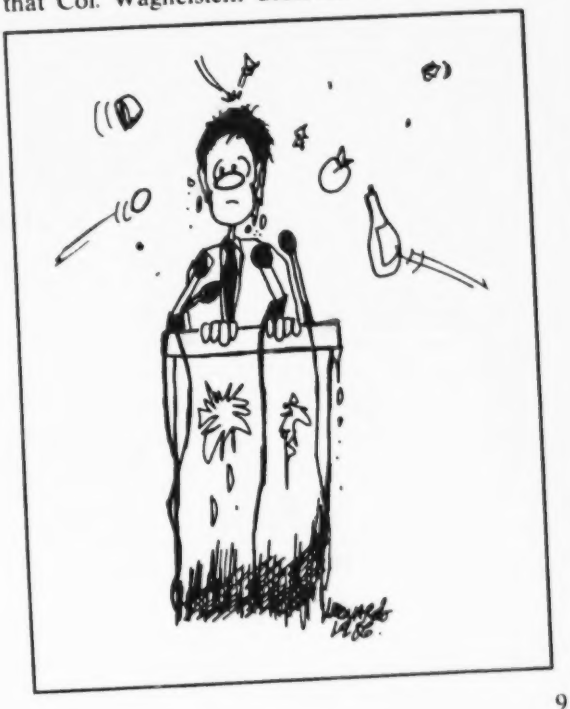
• Phyllis Schlafly of Eagle Forum was jeered and disrupted at an appearance at the University of Iowa in March of 1983.[18]

• At Columbia University in New York in November of 1983, former Nicaraguan freedom fighter Eden Pastora was "systematically disrupted with whistles and shouts. He had to scream to be heard," said one of the young Social Democrats who sponsored the event.[19]

• In the spring of 1980 William F. Buckley was scheduled to give the Vassar College commencement address, but declined the invitation after he was warned that a large number of students and faculty members did not support his invitation and that he would be shouted down and would risk personal injury.[20]

• In the winter of 1984, former Secretary of State Alexander Haig was invited to speak at the University of Colorado, Boulder. After a few minutes, General Haig was disrupted by screaming leftist members of the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), who during the course of the event, threw a container of blood at him.[21]

• In 1984, UCLA's Center of Latin American Studies Department invited Colonel John Waghelstein to lecture on El Salvador. A group of militant students jumped up and down yelling "murderer" and "assassin." One student shouted that Col. Waghelstein deserved to die like his



colleague Commander Albert Shaufelberger had. Cmdr. Shaufelberger was murdered by the Marxist FMLN guerrillas in 1983.[22]

• In October of 1984, several of the American medical students rescued in Grenada were harassed during campus appearances across the country. At UC Davis, medical student and Russian emigre Misha Lanzat was heckled throughout his speech. At Ithaca College, Ruth Brandau was heckled as she appeared on stage with New York State Assemblyman H. Sam McNeill.[23]

• In March of 1984 at Georgetown University, a speech by Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the conservative ARENA Party of El Salvador, was canceled when the university could not provide sufficient security to quell campus disrupters.[24]

• In December of 1984, when Roberto D'Aubuisson did speak at Georgetown, the audience could hardly hear him as protesters shouted and threw themselves in front of television cameras to prevent reporting of the event.[25]

• In April of 1984, speeches of two Central American students, Alvaro Montalvan and Alvaro Baldizon, were disrupted at the University of Massachusetts by a group of some 60 demonstrators who staged a mock guerrilla war with plastic guns.[26]

• At Amherst College the following day, scheduled talks by Montalvan and Baldizon were canceled due to the violence at University of Massachusetts. At the State University of New York, Albany, they had not yet reached the auditorium when militants chased them away, yelling "There is a CIA agent—let's hang him... We have guns, do you?"[27]

• In May of 1984, Dr. Henry Kissinger's speech at the University of Texas, Austin, was disrupted by radicals who waved banners and chanted slogans. After one radical student who kept interrupting Dr. Kissinger with questions was dragged out of

the room, the audience gave Kissinger a standing ovation. Fifty-three persons were arrested and charged with disruptive activity—one of the few examples of campus security acting against campus hooligans.[28]

• Also in the spring of 1984, two spokesmen from the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance (FDN) were violently disrupted at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. One member of InCAR, the International Committee Against Racism, threw red pennies at the speakers, while others yelled throughout the presentation. Some of the InCAR protesters toted plastic guns and engaged in war games while the speech continued. When one organizer of the event tried to use the lecture hall's telephone to call security, InCAR members pushed the organizer away from the telephone.[29]

• In December of 1984, student radicals at Brown University repeatedly interrupted a program presented by two CIA representatives. Students held a "citizen's arrest" and read a list of charges. Similar incidents occurred at Tufts University, the University of Massachusetts, and the University of Michigan.[30]

• In January of 1985 at UC Berkeley, a large group of radicals encircled a ROTC recruitment table, chanting slogans such as "Recruiters lie, Marines die." According to a member of the Spartacus Youth League, the group intended to "drive the Marines off campus."[31]

• In the spring of 1985, campus preacher Jed Smock, who simply held a banner supporting President Botha's reforms in South Africa, was tackled, kicked, and beaten by pro-divestment students at the University of California, San Diego. Mr. Smock has been confronted by disrupters on practically all campuses on which he has spoken. He has had eggs thrown at him, and has been punched on occasion. Most recently he suffered a broken leg after radical students tackled him at the University of Michigan.[32]

• At Northwestern University in the spring of 1985, Nicaraguan freedom fighter leader Adolfo Calero attempted to speak, but was unable to give his presentation when protesters managed to disrupt the meeting. As the speech was about to begin, students and faculty rushed the stage and threw a red liquid on Mr. Calero. Others chanted slogans and yelled threats. The microphone was seized by a Marxist English professor who was quoted as yelling: "He has no right to speak . . . He'll be lucky to get out of here alive."[33]

• In the fall of 1985, nationally syndicated columnist Allan Brownfeld visited the campus of the University of Wisconsin, Madison, to speak on problems concerning the media. He was met with abusive students who yelled "racist" and "fascist" and who accused him of defending governments which murder children and torture women. Later, it was discovered that the disrupters had held a meeting prior to Mr. Brownfeld's arrival to determine whether or not they would permit him to speak. This time they allowed him to speak, but not without hurling threats and insults.[34]

"The microphone was seized by a Marxist English professor who was quoted as yelling: 'He has no right to speak . . . He'll be lucky to get out of here alive.'"

• In the fall of 1985, anti-AIDS activist Paul Cameron was invited to speak at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, where angry demonstrators disrupted his speech and threw eggs. During the speech, Cameron wore a bullet-proof vest because of earlier threats. Some members of the gay and lesbian community reportedly yelled: "Cameron shouldn't be allowed to speak." Others yelled: "An injury to one, is an injury to all." During the event, 200 out of 600 or so members of the audience turned their backs on Cameron. Many of the demonstrators circled Cameron and attempted to touch him in some sort of symbolic meditation. Each time he tried to speak, the disrupters yelled louder. Cameron attempted to speak over the noise, but many of the disrupters kept unplugging the audio equipment. Violence nearly broke out when one disrupter punched a Cameron supporter.[35]

• In October of 1985, Nicaraguan opposition leader Arturo Cruz attempted to speak at the University of California, San Diego, but was drowned out by student radicals who chanted slogans and pounded drums.[36]

• In the winter of 1985 at UC Berkeley, Maranatha Christian Ministries were showing the anti-abortion film, "Silent Scream," when campus hooligans stormed the hall, disrupted the meeting, and attempted to destroy the tape.[37]

• In the spring of 1985, Education Secretary William Bennett was scheduled to deliver the commencement address at the University of the Pacific, in California. Bennett was disinvited, however, after the university buckled under the threats of student and faculty radicals. His crime: Support of educational budget restraint.[38]

• In October of 1985, Joseph Scheidler of the National Pro-Life Action League was invited to speak at the University of Colorado where he was met with 300 or so protesters who yelled and screamed profanities as he attempted to speak. The protesters, mostly feminists, lesbians and members of the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), blamed the conservative group Students for a Better America for the disturbances and accused them of "provoking violence" by inviting this controversial speaker. By raising his voice above the yells and chants from the crowd, Mr. Scheidler was able to finish his presentation.[39]

• At Northwestern University in January of 1986, Accuracy in Media Chairman Reed Irvine addressed a gathering of students and faculty members. After a female student repeatedly interrupted

his talk, Mr. Irvine invited her to take the microphone to say what was on her mind. When she demonstrated that she had nothing of interest to say, but refused to surrender the microphone, campus security physically ejected her, permitting Mr. Irvine to finish his talk. The student, a member of the violent International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) was later cleared by the university. When conservative students pressed charges against her off campus before a local county court, she was fined and placed on probation.[40]

• In the winter of 1986 at the University of California, Davis, one pro-disinvestment activist engaged in his own form of terrorism when he called in bomb threats designed to disrupt the speech of UC President David Gardner. Other students had planned to threaten to kidnap Gardner's daughter and damage his car.[41]

• In April of 1986, J. Michael Waller from the Council for Inter-American Security, and Jorge Rosales, a spokesman for the Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance (FDN), attempted to speak on three Massachusetts campuses. They were met with fierce disruption and harassment. At the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, several dozen protesters jeered: "No freedom of speech for fascists." Security was forced to end the event after hundreds of students inside and outside of the hall began getting restless and increased their heckling.[42]

• At Harvard University, Waller and Rosales were hustled out of the hall just after they had arrived, as disrupters stormed the podium, shouting: "Death, death, death to fascists." The freedom fighter spokesman was hit in the eye by an egg and knocked to the ground. Waller was hit in the back with an unknown object.[43]

• At the all-girls school, Wellesley College, outside of Boston, Massachusetts, Waller and Rosales were met by disrupters who threw eggs and pig's blood at them. After five minutes of attempting to

speak over the loud chants and yells, Waller and Rosales were forced to walk out.

At Wellesley, campus officials later tried to play down the incident, claiming that Waller and Rosales could have stayed and spoken. According to one Wellesley official, the "level of disruption was reasonable."[44]

• Attorney General Edwin Meese was recently invited to speak at Harvard University in early May, but students and faculty members threatened

"At Harvard University, Waller and Rosales were hustled out of the hall just after they had arrived, as disrupters stormed the podium shouting: 'Death, death, death to fascists.' "

to present the administration with petitions signed by over half the student body who disapproved of Meese's invitation and planned award. The university was forced to cancel the original date, but rescheduled the speech for May 20.[45]

• Also in May of 1986, fourteen members of InCAR at Northwestern University were escorted out of a forum after continuously heckling a Nicaraguan freedom fighter. Throughout the speech, InCAR members hissed, screamed questions, and shouted "Fascists have no right to speak."[46]

• In July of 1986 in Los Angeles, anti-apartheid demonstrators disrupted a meeting of the University of California Regents (members present included UC President David Gardner and California Governor George Duekmejian). The demonstrators made demands for divestment of the university's $2.4 billion in holdings in companies doing business with South Africa. Students and other protesters chanted: "Apartheid Kills While U.C. Counts Its Dollar Bills" and other slogans before police cleared them from the meeting. The demonstrators then formed a human

chain across a parking lot to block traffic. A 14 year-old boy was arrested for battery on a police officer.[47]

Self-Censorship and the Imbalance of Speaking Invitations

There obviously have been many more unpublicized cases of free speech abuses on the college campuses in the last few years. Some simply go unreported except for coverage in local campus papers. In addition, many conservatives are reluctant to accept invitations to speak on college campuses because of potential violence and the lack of security provided. Dr. Sidney Hook says: "A host of speakers think twice about accepting invitations to speak . . . and every successful disruption increases the likelihood of the self-censorship on the part of the faculty—not inviting those who may be objectionable to the fascist left."[48] (e.g., It took three years after the incident at UC Berkeley when Ambassador Kirkpatrick was shouted down for another conservative to speak on that campus.)

Prof. Kristol says that while such prominent liberals as House Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill have been popular commencement speakers this year, "no truly major university thought it appropriate to invite the likes of Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Education William Bennett, or former UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick."[49] Secretary Bennett did address the Citadel's graduates and Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick addressed the College of William and Mary this past spring.

Prof. Kristol argues that disruptions are now relatively uncommon. On the whole, this may be true. Liberal commentators have, as Kristol writes, used "the absence of such episodes as evidence that all is quiet on the campus front."[50]

Indeed, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, who has received probably the worst treatment from campus radicals of all her conservative colleagues, has been able to speak freely on many college campuses in recent years. This past year, for example, the former ambassador addressed students at Southern Methodist University, Trinity College, and the College of William and Mary. There is, however, no freedom of speech for prominent conservatives on the larger campuses where radical groups such as InCAR, CISPES, and the Spartacus Youth League are active in opposing American foreign policy. If Ambassador Kirkpatrick were to speak today, say, at Columbia, Northwestern, Berkeley, Harvard, or at U. Mass., Amherst, more than likely there would be disruptions and campus disorder. Granted, the chances of such disorder and violence are less than they were in 1983, when Ambassador Kirkpatrick was a more visible player in American foreign policy, but the fact that she remains an influential voice and supporter of U.S. foreign policy makes her a target for disruptions on the larger, more volatile campuses.

Mr. Jim Keppler of Keppler and Associates, a Washington based firm that represents such speakers as William F. Buckley, John Kenneth Galbraith, Jimmy Carter, Phyllis Schlafly, and Charlton Heston, believes that the problem of free speech abuses during the "past year" occurs without regard to ideology. Mr. Keppler blames student governments and universities for trying to silence speakers with whom they disagree. Keppler believes that many speakers today, as a result, will not accept invitations simply because of the self-censorship that surfaces from having to deal with disruptive campus groups.[51]

Indeed, self-censorship is a major difficulty that often goes unnoticed. But more significant is the imbalance of invitations that are given out to various speakers on the major college campuses.

At the University of Colorado, Boulder, in 1980, Students for a Better America, a local campus organization, discovered that 78% of those speakers invited by the student government were of the liberal-left, while only 12% were of the conservative-right. A recent study by John Carson, a third-year law student at the University of Colorado and the Director of Students for a Better America, has looked at the balance of invited

speakers during the past five years (1981-1986). The results parallel those in 1980. During the last five years, 82% of the speakers hosted by the Cultural Events Board (the service responsible for inviting speakers to the University of Colorado, which is supported by students' fees and government subsidies) were of the liberal-left. Only six speakers were of the conservative-right; one was former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who was violently disrupted in 1984 at the University of Colorado. Another of those few conservatives invited, pro-life activist Joseph Scheidler, was shouted down at Boulder in October of 1985.

The SBA report was sent to the regents and a thousand supporters and alumni, charging the university and the Cultural Events Board with "an ongoing and pervasive bias toward the left end of the political spectrum."[52] As a result, the regents passed a bill this spring creating an oversight committee that will withhold money from the Cultural Events Board until a better balance of speakers is presented at the University of Colorado. If there is no significant change in the balance of speakers, the regents have promised to offer students a check-off system during class registration which would allow the students the option of not paying fees to support CEB programs.[53]

At the University of California, Davis, and other institutions, the imbalance of campus speakers subsidized by students and taxpayers is similar to that at the University of Colorado. Of the 33 speeches and presentations by individuals and groups political in nature at UC Davis during the last three years, 81% were of the liberal-left, and 18% conservative. William F. Buckley, at the invitation of the university, not of the student government, hosted his "Firing Line" show—a debate on privatization—at UC Davis this year. No other truly prominent conservative has appeared on the UC Davis campus at the invitation of the student government. However, prominent liberals such as Geraldine Ferraro, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Eleanor Smeal, and Ed Asner have appeared at UC Davis in recent years. At UC Berkeley, the imbalance is even greater.[54]

Dr. Irving Kristol's point about the lack of commencement invitations to prominent conservatives to "truly major universities" this year is especially significant. In a special *ABC Nightline* segment on June 27 on commencement addresses, ABC reported that the top two requested speakers from universities were New York Governor Mario Cuomo with 160 invitations and Lee Iaccoca with 150. Other top invitees included New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Rep. William Gray (D-Pa.), cartoonist Garry Trudeau, comedian Bill Cosby, Faye Wattleton (Planned Parenthood), ABC *Nightline* host Ted Koppel and William F. Buckley. The dearth of prominent conservatives being invited to address graduates is somewhat ironic considering that college students, according to the American Council on Education, are more than ever before identifying themselves as conservatives. And according to Gallup, 61% of students voted Reagan-Bush in 1984. Undoubtedly, Dr. Kristol's earlier point about the influence of liberal college faculties has something to do with the imbalance of speakers on the major college campuses—coupled with the influence and energy of the active politicos on campuses; the student left.

"One might reasonably say, that the radical left . . . has effectively succeeded in monopolizing debate on the larger college campuses . . ."

There is no way to measure the effect that these factors have had on the diversity of opinion and academic freedom on the campuses with any sort of precision. One might reasonably say, however, that the radical left—with the help of liberal student governments, the liberal campus press and liberal professors—has effectively succeeded in monopolizing debate on the larger college campuses by providing an imbalance of speakers, issuing threats, and using brown-shirt tactics to prevent those prominent, and sometimes less prominent, speakers whom they disagree with from speaking.

Campus Groups Rejecting the "Democratic Ethic."

Many campus organizations are responsible for the type of violence witnessed on the campuses in recent years. Some student hooligans simply act independently without direction. Others, however, act collectively in deliberate attempts to create disturbances, incite violence and attract attention to themselves while disrupting speakers. None are more intent on rejecting the democratic ethic of freedom of speech than three organizations active on college campuses nationwide: The International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), and the Committee In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

InCAR: The International Committee Against Racism, active on larger-campuses across America (the University of California, Berkeley, the University of California, Los Angeles, the University of Wisconsin, the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Northwestern University, Harvard University, etc.), has openly admitted to advocating violence to prevent "extremist" or "racist" or "imperialistic" speakers from speaking.

In one flyer distributed on California campuses, InCAR threatened a local conservative organization, stating that it "must be stopped from spreading its racist filth on campus." The organization of conservative and moderate students called CAMPUS (conservative and moderate students at the University of California, Santa Cruz), InCAR writes, "provides forum (sic) for fascist groups like Accuracy in Media and Accuracy in Academia. These groups have links with death squads in Latin America and CIA . . . We in InCAR say that these are Fascist groups and they must be violently stopped." Further down the flyer, InCAR writes that "Fascism cannot be ignored. It cannot be stopped by peaceful picket lines, singing or praying. It must be crushed violently by building multiracial unity of workers and students. We openly

unite with the Communists in Revolutionary Communist Progressive Labor Party. . . Join InCAR."[55]

Another InCAR flyer, "NO FREEDOM OF SPEECH FOR FASCISTS," was distributed during the scheduled appearance of J. Michael Waller and the FDN representative at Wellesley College. It advocated violence to prevent Waller and the freedom fighter from speaking. This flyer boasts its "successful" efforts which "drove Adolfo Calero off the speaking platform" at Northwestern University a year before.[56]

InCAR is listed as an "extreme left-wing group" in a 1979 report on organized crime by the California Department of Justice. According to the report, members have been convicted of inciting violence and riots on campuses, while others have been convicted of assault, battery, and carrying concealed weapons. (Copies of the report are available from the California Department of Justice, 3301 C Street, Sacramento, CA 95813.)

InCAR in Los Angeles has recently issued threats against conservative organizations on campuses in the area, especially at the University of California, Los Angeles. One conservative organization called NEMESIS has received death threats on its telephone answering service, and is offering a reward for any information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible. One message called NEMESIS members "Mother F------ Zionist Jews." In May, UCLA's Associate Dean Robert A. Ringler wrote InCAR about a leaflet which states that "violence" is appropriate when applied towards campus organizations that don't share InCAR's point of view. In the letter, Dean Ringler requested that InCAR representatives meet with him regarding the flyer and alleged death threats against other campus groups.[57]

Spokesmen of InCAR were contacted at Northwestern University, the University of California, Santa Cruz, and the University of California, Los Angeles, but all refused to discuss their involvement in disruptions and their stated advocacy of violent interference against those with whom they disagree. One InCAR spokesman from the Boston area, however, did confirm

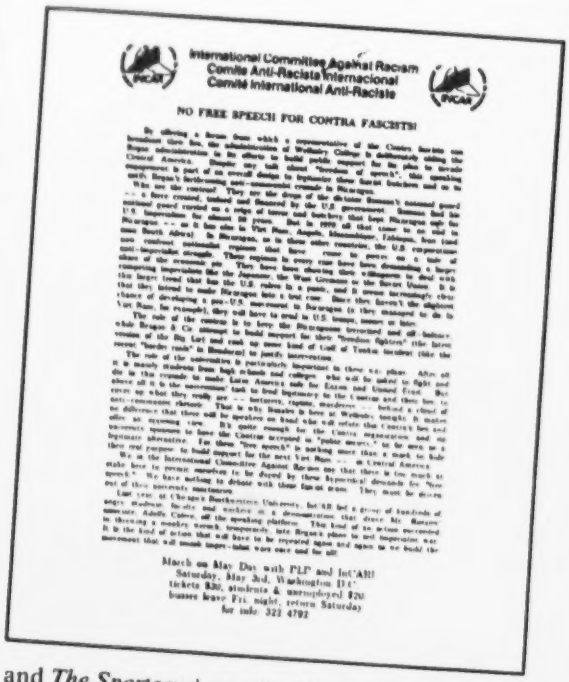
InCAR's involvement in preventing a freedom fighter from speaking at Wellesley College in April. Linda Leisenger of InCAR confirmed that her organization had distributed the flyer at the Wellesley event titled "No Freedom of Speech for Fascists."

Besides having students and members of the general public who belong to the organization, InCAR has many faculty participants across the country who lead its activities. At Northwestern University, self-avowed Marxist English professor Barbara Foley is an active member of InCAR. She was the professor responsible for shouting Calero down and yelling that "he'll be lucky to get out of here alive." For that incident, Foley was disciplined. More recently, because of unruly behavior "unbecoming of a member of the Northwestern University faculty," the administration has denied Professor Foley tenure. InCAR held demonstrations during the spring of 1986, demanding that Foley be re-hired and that the right-wing professor Arthur Butz be fired immediately. The American Association of University Professors has expressed its support for Professor Foley, and said it was appalled at the process which resulted in Foley's denial for tenure. Foley refused to comment.

The San Diego State chapter of InCAR is led by Professor of Philosophy Tom Westin, a faculty advisor.

Official national headquarters for InCAR are located in New York City at 718/287-4325. No address was given. Their Los Angeles address given by UCLA is 1914 S. Vermont #226, Los Angeles, CA 90007.

Spartacus Youth League Like InCAR, the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) is active on the larger campuses across the country, such as the University of California, Berkeley, Northwestern University, and Columbia University. Although it is the youth branch of the Trotskyite Communist Spartacus League, the Spartacus Youth League is pro-Soviet. Both the adult and the youth leagues are violent. Their publications *(Workers' Vanguard, Young Spartacus,*



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Comite Anti-Racista Internacional
Comité International Anti-Racists

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Saturday, May 3rd. Washington D.C.
tickets $30, students & unemployed $20
busses leave Fri. night, return Saturday
for info: 322 4792

and *The Spartacus)* urge "military victory" for the communists in El Salvador, and the killing of police officers. They have provoked violence on many campuses during demonstrations with groups such as InCAR, CISPES, and the Progressive Student Network.

In one SYL flyer distributed in the Los Angeles area, the League writes: "We are socialists who stand for defense of the USSR against imperialism . . . We believe that the Red Army is on the right side in Afghanistan. We collected $25,000 to defend the Nicaraguan revolution, and we think Nicaragua should get MIGs to mop up the contra filth . . . And we stand with the Cuban troops defending Angola against the South African army and the CIA."[58] Such are the views of the SYL. More important, however, are their tactics in suppressing the rights of those with whom they disagree.

In the February 12, 1986 issue of *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, the Spartacus League's "disruptive tactics" were described as annoying and frustrating to other student leftists, particularly those

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involved in the anti-apartheid divestment movement on the campuses. Elizabeth Greene of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* wrote: "Whether it is a small meeting or a large protest, activists on those campuses say members of the leagues (known as "Sparts") are there to expound on the urgency of a workers' revolution and the insidiousness of capitalism." "But the students," she writes, "say it is not the league's beliefs they object to, but its tactics."[59]

Spartacus members have not only heckled conservative speakers on the campuses, but they have heckled pro-nuclear freeze speakers for not being pro-freeze enough. Spartacus members were responsible for violently disrupting Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick's Jefferson Lecture at UC Berkeley, and were especially active at Harvard University when Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was shouted down.[60]

According to *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, the SYL declined to be interviewed. One league spokesman in the New York office confirmed the league's refusal to be interviewed, but criticized the "slanted" coverage it got from *The Chronicle of Higher Education's* story. The spokesman, who wished not to be identified, refused to be interviewed at length about the league's activities on the campuses and the charges labeled in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* article.

The Youth League has offices in fourteen cities, but most of the group's policies and activities are planned from its main office in New York. Their address is (SYL) Box 137, GPO, New York, N.Y. 10166. Tel: 212/732-7860. Their western telephone number is 213/384-9746 (Los Angeles, CA).

CISPES: The Committe In Solidarity with the People of El Salvador is probably the most well-organized and well-financed of the radical campus groups on the left. Although supporters do not openly admit to advocating violence and disruptions on campuses as InCAR and the "Sparts" do, many have stormed administration offices, urinating in office plants, turning over filing cabinets, and ripping telephone jacks out of walls. Many have been arrested for disrupting

campus speakers, including former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the University of Texas and Ambassador Kirkpatrick at Berkeley.

CISPES has provoked fights at places such as American University, where CISPES supporters screamed at and threatened a Catholic priest, a U.S. Congressman, and the Salvadoran Ambassador to the United States. At the University of Colorado, Boulder, CISPES radicals attempted to assault former Secretary of State Alexander Haig by throwing a container of blood at him.

Founded in 1980 with the assistance of Cuban Intelligence officers and Communist Party members, CISPES is the nation's largest "U.S. out of El Salvador" organization. It claims between 350 and 400 local chapters, mostly on college campuses. CISPES was founded, and now functions as, a propaganda support apparatus for the FMLN-FDR guerrillas in El Salvador; its stated goal is to "defend the Sandinista revolution." The FMLN was responsible for killing four American Marines at a sidewalk cafe in San Salvador in the summer of 1985. The FMLN recently expressed "happiness" over the space shuttle Challenger disaster because two of the astronauts were, according to them, "war criminals."[61]

A recent report on CISPES by J. Michael Waller of the Council for Inter-American Security, "CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network,"* which reveals that CISPES was established by the founder of the El Salvadoran Communist Party, has been used as evidence by the Attorney General's office to decide whether or not CISPES should be forced to register as an agent for a foreign government. CISPES was also the subject of testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, and some CISPES activists have been reportedly questioned by the FBI for the organization's alleged involvement in illegal activities, including questioning in relation to the November 1983 bombing in the U.S. Capitol building.

According to the *Dallas Morning News* (April 6, 1986, pg. 1), CISPES was infiltrated by an FBI agent who subsequently described CISPES's plans to commit acts of violence against Republican activists, including the President of the United

States during the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas.

Four different CISPES officials in Washington were asked about Mr. Waller's report, but no one would discuss the charges leveled against the organization. One spokeswoman did state that she remembered the disruptive incidents cited in this report, but she refused to comment any further. CISPES's address: P.O. Box 50139, Washington, D.C. 20004. Tel. 202/2933370.

NOTE: Although all the groups discussed are active on the larger campuses across the country, it is hard to estimate the membership of these groups. However, the so-called "non-violent" pledge of resistance, a nationwide movement which attempts to involve Americans in pledges to resist further "U.S. intervention in Central America," recently boasted of 62,000 signatories. J. Michael Waller, who follows and writes about the progress of the pledge of resistance movement, estimates that the number may now be closer to 70,000 or 75,000, and includes members of all three groups. Signers pledge themselves to engage in civil disobedience activities on the campuses that will include, according to their own brochures, the illegal physical occupation of federal facilities. Waller predicts that with the recent congressional passage of $100 million in military and humanitarian assistance to the Nicaraguan freedom fighters, the pledge of resistance may begin to mobilize on campuses in the upcoming academic fall term.

*J. Michael Waller's Report *"CISPES: A Terrorist Propaganda Network"* can be obtained by writing the Council for Inter-American Security, 122 C Street NW #330 Washington, D.C. 20001.

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CONCLUSION: CAN ANYTHING BE DONE?

Sadly, in almost every free speech abuse that takes place on the campuses today, weak-kneed administrators have been reluctant to enforce campus regulations against disruptions and punish those responsible. Some administrators argue that it is almost impossible to identify those who are responsible for the disruptions, and that to arrest hundreds of protesters would infringe on their rights to "disagree" with the speaker. There is little merit to this argument, since a number of institutions have shown that disruptions can be controlled or prevented by providing adequate security and dealing firmly with the ringleaders, whether they be students or faculty members.

A large part of the problem is that many of the demonstrators and disrupters of the sixties and seventies have become college professors and administrators in the eighties. They are in some cases openly sympathetic with the disrupters. They may encourage or condone their activities. President David Adamany of Wayne State University said in a recent speech before the American Association of University Professors that it was shameful that those who don't condone such activities did not strongly condemn them.

President Adamany said: "The whole nation knows that faculty members, students, academic administrators and some governing boards have in recent years silenced unpopular speakers—especially those on the right. The shame for those of us who are active liberals is that we do not join in a chorus of condemnation of our colleagues when right-leaning speakers are kept off our campuses by threats or silenced by disorder."

Dr. Sidney Hook had similarly criticized the failure of "faculty and students who disapprove of this undemocratic and often disruptive behavior to take a public stand against it." He warned that "the most serious threat to the integrity of teaching and learning comes not from the criminal vio-

lence of the extremists but from measures of appeasement, of capitulation, adopted in the vain hope of curbing their frenzy."

There is a danger that if this situation is not remedied, our institutions of higher learning will graduate a large number of bright students who will be vulnerable to the totalitarian temptation. The spirit of tolerance that has kept this land a bastion of liberty in the face of an impressive expansion of totalitarian power and influence will be seriously undermined.

The sad fact is that in the countries that have succumbed to the totalitarian tide since World War II, those who must bear most of the blame are not the unlettered proletariat, but the privileged intelligentsia. This was recognized by the Marxist philosopher, Herbert Marcuse, who concluded that students would have to be the spearhead of any Marxist revolution in the United States, since the workers were too satisfied with the status quo.

Fortunately, the public is recognizing the hypocrisy of those in academia who proclaim their undying devotion to academic freedom and then fall silent when freedom of speech is denied to those with whom they disagree. Accuracy in Academia is helping to mobilize public sentiment to back freedom of speech for *everyone* on our college campuses. Its chairman, Reed Irvine, is optimistic that an aroused public can bring about significant reforms. He says, "The students of the eighties can play an important role in teaching their professors greater respect for freedom of speech and tolerance of viewpoints with which they disagree. They are our best hope of taking the hypocrisy out of what passes for liberal education today. They have a difficult task, and they need all the support we of the older generation can give them."

LES CSORBA, III

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